

LABOR MUST ACT! SACCO AND VANZETTI SHALL NOT DIE!

FIRST SECTION

This issue consists of two sections, be sure to get them both.

THE DAILY WORKER

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Current Events

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY.

BUKHARIN BRANDS FENG TRAITOR TO CHINESE REVOLT

Says Left Wing Must Purge Kuomintang

MOSCOW, July 1.—With the treachery of General Feng Yu-hsiang and the consolidation of native big business interests the task of liberating China lies entirely in the hands of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie, according to an article in the *Pravda* by N. Bukharin.

N. Bukharin's article follows:

"The bloc of Feng Yu-hsiang and Chiang Kai-shek means a further step in the separation of the class forces of China. Chang Tao-lin's camp is the camp of feudal reaction; this camp is actually in the descendant. The second camp, the camp of the liberal bourgeois counterrevolution, at a given stage in the development of events in China, is the victorious force, holding quite a peculiar place in the struggle of classes."

The class basis of the general's coup is to be sought in the passing of the liberal bourgeoisie to the counter-revolution and in the agrarian revolution of the Chinese peasants. The bloc of Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang and other generals plus (eventually) the left wing of the "Fengtienese" such is the bourgeois bloc from a military aspect.

At present this bloc is the strongest of the struggling camps. The strength of this liberal counter-revolutionary camp consists in the numerical predominance of its armed forces and its political position as compared with the political position of the feudal camp. The bourgeois camp already tends to amalgamate with the feudal reaction and imperialism; however it is in a certain measure still independent on the part of the furriers.

Liberals are masquerading as the true liberators of China, as distinct from Communists whom they call agents of the "Russian State." One of the strong points of the liberal counter-revolution is that it has its agents in third camp, namely, Wuhan.

Feng's betrayal.

Wuhan's weak point is that it has not sufficient armed forces. With Feng's betrayal, Wuhan lost the best part of its military forces, while the remaining part under Tang Sheng-chen is likewise unreliable. The reliable military units are insufficient numerically.

Furthermore, both in the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and the government are Chiang Kai-shek's spies and wavering petty bourgeois politicians, a weak untrained political leadership in Wuhan, in distinction to growing mass movement, is a most vulnerable point.

If the Communist International's directing line were practically fulfilled the situation would not be so dangerous for Wuhan.

The strength of Wuhan is in a powerful movement of workers and peasants.

This revolution will throw away the wavering prattlers and the enemy's spies and wavering terrified leaders.

So far the camp of the bourgeois counter-revolution has been fighting against feudalism and to some extent, against the imperialists. At the same time it acts against the workers and peasants of its own nation, thereby becoming the henchman of the counter-revolution.

Must Mobilize Workers.

The substance of the actual class battles is the struggle for hegemony in the bourgeois democratic revolution between the working class and liberal bourgeoisie or otherwise, which amounts the same, the struggle between the liberal and plebian developments of the Chinese revolution. The more dangerous actual situation, the more energetic must be the support of the third camp, the more energetic the mobilization of the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeois masses.

The policy of the Communist International: mobilize the masses; loosen the agrarian revolution; loosen the labor movement, struggle against the traitors. We must repel all compromising tendencies on the part of the semi-agents of Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yu-hsiang; it must stand in the direction of clearing the Kuomintang of these wavering elements. It is necessary that it really constitutes the Jacobin "plebian" cadres which can fight to the end against all obstacles and defeats.

Feng Yu-hsiang has passed into the camp of the enemies of the people's revolution and against him must be declared a relentless war. The tactic of compromising with Feng and company could be based only on an absolutely liquidatory attitude towards the agrarian revolution and towards the struggle for the plebian way of China's development.

Even though Wuhan should fall,

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AT JEFFERSON MARKET COURT



Striking furriers leaving Jefferson Market Court just after Magistrate Ewald imposed sentences of jail and fine on women pickets. The judge was hissed, and the police attacked the crowd in court.

Mass Arrests and Mass Jail Sentences for Picketing a Challenge to Labor Movement

The jail sentences handed out en masse to striking furriers following the mass arrests for picketing and which include men and women indiscriminately put squarely to the labor movement of New York City, the labor movement of the United States as a whole and to all elements outside the labor movement proper, but who believe in, sympathize with and support the aims and struggles of the working class certain questions which cannot be evaded.

The issues are clear:

In the face of brutal exercise of the police power of the city in an arbitrary manner, against workers who are breaking no law, and on a scale unknown heretofore, with the open purpose of destroying the right to picket in a struggle between bosses and workers, will the officers of the New York Central Labor Council continue to avoid making a public protest to the authorities coupled with a demand that this onslaught on the fundamental rights of unions cease?

In the face of a state supreme court decision legalizing picketing—a decision secured at the cost of much money, time, effort and sacrifice on the part of the labor movement—will the officials of the labor movement of this state permit hundreds of workers—hundreds, we repeat, and the court records show it—to be jailed for any term a judge sees fit to fix for upholding the right of the unions to picket?

With bands of mercenaries assaulting striking workers and pickets, gangsters whom even the capitalist press is forced to admit are in the pay of the reactionary forces who are trying to break the morale of the strikers and destroy their union, with the fur district occupied by police and thugs, a state of siege in force so far as the strikers are concerned—will the organized workers of New York and the rest of the United States remain silent?

We do not think so. Neither do we believe that passivity, in effect acquiescence in the stoopid tactics of trade union reaction which has produced such things as union officials acting as informers and prosecutors against striking workers, will prevent protest from the circle of labor sympathizers whose assistance to the labor movement has been of tremendous value in times of crisis especially.

We wish to warn the labor movement, in no spirit of hostility to those who do not agree with us on issues and methods, but in the most sober and emphatic manner that what it is witnessing in the furriers' strike in New York today is a forerunner of the methods which will be employed on a nationwide scale if the bosses and city, state and national authorities meet no organized and determined resistance from the labor movement to mass arrest and mass jail sentences.

We say this with the knowledge that in America and every other country any concerted attack, and particularly

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RIGHT WING PLOT TO JAIL FURRIER PICKETS EXPOSED

Prenter Rushed Out by Unity Committee Tells of "Forward" Gloating

Calling upon the needle workers to protest against the wholesale jailing of the furriers, the Unity Committee of the Fur, Cloak and Dressmakers' Joint Boards, yesterday distributed thousands of leaflets in the market pointing out the treachery of the right wing.

It reads as follows:

"Three hundred fifty workers, men and women, have been sentenced to jail terms ranging from 5 days to 6 months. What was their crime?"

"Even the police who testified against them admitted that their crime consisted of nothing more violent than that of peacefully picketing in the fur market."

"The real reason why these workers were sent to jail is because IT WAS REQUESTED BY SIGMAN AND MCGRADY. The judge was nothing but a puppet in their hands. Sigman, McGrady and the Forward have determined to break the furriers' strike at any cost. The time has apparently arrived when they who were at one time so-called labor leaders are now the leaders of the police and the courts."

"Day after day gangsters are caught in the murderous attempts on the lives of our workers. These gangsters have long criminal records as safe-crackers, robbers and murderers. These men of the underworld are

(Continued on Page Three)

World Tourists Sail For Russia July 14; Last Call for Visas

The time is short before the sailing date for the six weeks' trip to Lenin-grad and Moscow, organized by the World Tourists, of 41 Union Square, Room 803. They are off on July 14th!

Many Americans have been curious

and anxious to visit Russia for a long time, but the difficulty of getting a visa in the absence of a Soviet Consulate in the U. S. A. has forced them to postpone the trip.

Now is your opportunity. An arrangement between the U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations and the World Tourists has made it possible to guarantee a visa for everyone who joins this tour.

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What the Federal Indictment Means

Under the Federal Grand Jury indictment against The DAILY WORKER and members of the staff, the four defendants, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Dunne, Alexander Bittelman and Bert Miller, and also David Gordon and Joseph Kalar, are subject to the following penalties under the federal statutes:

On the first count Five Years' Imprisonment, or \$5,000 Fine or Both.

On the second count Five Years' Imprisonment, or \$5,000 Fine or Both.

On the third count Two Years' Imprisonment, or \$10,000 Fine or Both.

Thousands of dollars of bail will be required.

In addition to this the mailing privileges of The DAILY WORKER may be revoked at any time that the federal authorities see fit. The cost of the proceedings in the Federal Courts will run into thousands of dollars.

Comrades, we understand the intent and the purpose of the attack against The DAILY WORKER and its staff. We realize that American capitalism is facing such a serious situation that it seeks to rid itself of its most dangerous opponent, The DAILY WORKER. The whole weight of the United States government is being brought down upon us. We must bring the whole weight of the labor movement down upon the reactionary forces which are seeking to throttle our paper. For the next few months we face the battle of our lives. The chief need at this hour is money for the big fight which is ahead. We expect every comrade to do his share to meet the new attack against us.

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British Right Wingers Try to Smash Alliance Of Anglo-USSR Workers

LONDON, July 1.—That the right wing leaders of British Trade Union Congress are taking steps to break the Anglo-Russian Committee is indicated in a report of the labor correspondent of the Westminster Gazette.

Several days ago the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions representing more than ten million organized workers of the Soviet Union, accused the British right wing leaders of betraying their labor movement and of attempting to break the Anglo-Russian Committee.

If the reports in the Westminster Gazette are correct the guess of the All-Union Central Committee is correct.

ENGINEERS FIRE FOUR OFFICIALS ON BANK CHARGES

Prenter Rushed Out by Abolition of Office

CLEVELAND, July 1.—The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers today returned to the original method of officiating of offices of president, vice president and secretary, which were created in 1924.

Alvaney Johnston, once a caller on the Great Northern Railroad, automatically was placed in command of the B. of L. E. affairs.

The deposed officers are W. B. Prenter, president; L. G. Griffing, first vice president and treasurer; H. P. Daugherty, second vice president; and C. E. Lindquist, secretary.

Trustees Named.

Three trustees were named temporarily by Johnson to take over the management of the brotherhood's financial and business enterprises with the exception of the pension and insurance departments and report semi-annually to the organization's advisory board.

Prenter Holds On.

Prenter has already signed his intention to fight expulsion from the office which gave him control over all the brotherhood's extensive but unremunerative (to the union) business ventures into seab coal mining and class collaboration banking, real estate, etc.

The investigation committee appointed by the convention to look into shady deals connected with the millions of dollars invested recommended the removal of all the higher officers of the union.

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SACCO, VANZETTI SECRETLY TAKEN TO DEATH HOUSE

Brutal Action Despite 30-Day Reprieve

BOSTON, July 1.—Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, after seven years of torture following their conviction on framed-up charges of murder were early this morning secretly and unexpectedly transferred from the Norfolk county jail in Dedham to the Charlestown state prison.

Despite the 30-days respite announced by Gov. Alvan Fuller Wednesday the two workers were whisked away in an automobile heavily guarded by armed officers.

Blow to Defense.

A belated "explanation" was made in which it was said that "the transfer was made to conform to the statutes" which require that those facing execution must be placed in the death house 10 days before the date set by the presiding judge.

For several days prior to the respite the Boston Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee repeatedly urged governor not to permit the removal of the two men to the Charlestown prison. The latest action comes as a heavy blow to the Committee inasmuch as they assumed that the respite would automatically block the threatened transfer to the death house.

Labor Protest Grows.

Local protests against the impending execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Thirty days more must be ticked off by the big pententiary clock before the two Italian radicals go to the electric chair. An executive order by Gov. Fuller delays the throwing of the switch till August 10th.

International protests come daily. On the date of the respite came telegrams from Paris, from Earl New Zealand miners, and another from the Syndicate for the Defense of Tenants of Nice, France.

On the day of the respite Fuller interviewed Frank J. Burke, a glass bottle blower, and a witness at the Dedham trial. Burke, who happened to be standing in the roadway at

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Demand Release of 53 Chinese Sailors

A thorough investigation of the case of the 85 Chinese workers who forced their way off the "Rotterdam" after they were refused shore leave has just been started by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Fifty-four of the sailors, jailed immediately after the outbreak, are still being held in Hoboken despite efforts of Liangling Chang, Chinese Consul in New York, to secure their release. No charge has as yet been placed against them.

They were hired as stokers in Rotterdam about 10 days ago for a wage of \$3 a week with a promise of shore leave. When they arrived in Hoboken, however, the officers ignored their pleas to be let off.

Commenting on this Liang-ling Chang said: "If American sailors were in the same situation in China American marines would have long since taken action."

The arrested sailors charge that the food on the "Rotterdam" was atrocious, a diet of rice and beans being served them during the entire trip.

China and Soviet Union To Be Taken Up at W. P. Membership Meet, Wed.

The District Executive Committee is calling a special Party membership meeting for Wednesday, July 6, 8:00 P. M. at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East Forty-second street, to discuss the present international situation, particularly:

1. The attack against the Soviet Union and preparation for a campaign for defense of the Soviet Union.

2. The present situation in China and the prospects for the Chinese revolution.

3. Immediate danger of war and what our Party can do to counteract it.

Bring your membership cards with you. All members of the Young Workers League are asked to attend this meeting.

PROSECUTOR SAYS VERDICT IN GOLD CASE 'IRREGULAR'

Asks Postponement of Sentence

When Sam Gold and Sam Kurland, fur strikers who were convicted by a jury in the court of general sessions last Wednesday came up for sentence yesterday morning before Judge Donellan, Assistant District Attorney Morris Panger asked that for a postponement of sentence on Gold saying that he did not believe that he had been legally convicted.

On the suggestion of Panger, bail was set at \$5,000 for Gold who will be released today. The judge said that due to the postponement of sentence on Gold he would do the same in the case of Kurland, but instead of doing so he was committed to the Tombs where he will remain for the next two months until Judge Donellan has returned from his vacation.

To Investigate Trial.

In requesting that sentence be deferred in the case of Gold, Panger said that he wanted time to "investigate the matter" as he said he had grave doubts as to the legality of the procedure at the trial. He did not give any further details.

Paul Goodman, a striker and Willy Rosenfeld, a foreman, sympathetic to the right wing, were both dismissed when brot before Magistrate George Ewald in Jefferson Market Court yesterday morning.

Had Cut Striker.

They were both arrested a week ago after Rosenfeld had brutally cut up Goodman who had worked in the same shop. At first the police refused to arrest the right wingers but when officials of the Joint Board went to the 20th St. police station and made a protest he was taken into custody. Big Picket Line Tuesday.

The largest picketing demonstration since the beginning of the strike is now being planned for Tuesday morning. While the right wing and the police have been hoping that the wholesale arrests and mass sentencing of the militant workers would break the fighting spirit of the fur workers, it is believed that when they see the thousands of working class fighters pour into the market after the Fourth of July holidays, they will realize that all of their terrorism has been in vain.

Tricks Are Useless.

Many of the strikers yesterday were heard to express that in their opinion, after the mighty picket line next Tuesday, the right wing police combine will have realized that all of their tricks are useless when matched by the mighty power of the workers, struggling together as one individual.

A meeting to organize a Williamsburg branch of the Furriers Women's Council will be held Tuesday evening, 7:30 p. m. at the home of Abe Rosen, 64 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn. All mothers, wives, sisters and sweethearts of fur workers are urged to become members.

The council will help the furriers in their struggle to better their working conditions.

BERLIN, July 1.—Several deputies were injured and the dignity of others was violated in a free-for-all fist and foot battle between nationalists, socialists and Communists in the staff Prussian diet today.

The spectacular battle occurred during a bitter debate over political rowdiness.

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FREE CAMPING GROUNDS

For Camp Fire Girls; Boy Scouts; Tourists; Every Accommodation for Picnickers in our Electrically Lighted Park

EVERYBODY WELCOME

MASS ARRESTS AND MASS JAIL SENTENCES FOR PICKETING A CHALLENGE TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page One)

an attack of this nature, upon the most militant section of the labor movement, sections which for reasons we do not need to go into here have incurred the bitter hatred of labor's enemies, is an infallible sign of a drive on the labor movement all along the line.

The bosses, like the militarists upon whom they depend for final aggression, make attacks at certain points and at certain times, upon various sections of the labor movement. If these attacks are repelled by the united action of the labor movement the bosses retreat. If the attacks are successful the battle-line is broadened until it stretches along the whole capital-labor front.

It is one of these periods that the labor movement enters now.

The defense of the right to strike and picket, the defense of the workers in jail, united resistance to the whole policy which unites right wing labor officialdom, the bosses, the police and the courts, are the immediate tasks of all honest workers and supporters of the labor movement.

Agree or disagree with the political beliefs of the leadership of the Furriers' Union, say that there is no place for Communist theory in America, but the labor movement cannot deny the fact that the furriers are striking for better wages and working conditions for union shops and for the right to picket.

These principles every member of the labor movement is in duty bound to defend against all enemies and at all costs.

Here then are the issues in the furriers' strike and they constitute a challenge which the labor movement cannot fail to answer in a decisive manner without its being interpreted as surrender by the forces of capitalist reaction which are mobilizing for a new drive on labor.

READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY

let's go!

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to

SOVIET RUSSIA

The time is short, but if you step lively, you can still get your passport, pack your bag and be ready to hop off with the rest of the party on the 14th, bound for Leningrad and Moscow.

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"A farm in Iowa." This is what Morris Sigman, president of the reactionary International, is said to have owned during the past few years.

The reason why he chose to buy the farm in the Far West rather than in New York state, Pennsylvania or Connecticut has just become clear.

On Sigman's "farm" grow merry-go-rounds, shoot-the-shoots, ferris wheels, shooting galleries, fat ladies, hot dog stands, South Sea dancing girls, and other Coney Island attractions to refresh him when he sags under the strain of trying to maintain his reactionary leadership over the workers who have repudiated him.

The correspondent who spotted these two advertisements from the Storm Lake (Ia.) "Pilot-Tribune" relates that Sigman is a big figure among the business leaders of the town. The labor "leader" paid \$14,000 for the land upon which his amusement park is situated, and the total value of the business is now estimated to be over \$75,000.

Permanent Free Attractions

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Restaurant and Other Attractions
Lunch Counter ROLLER SKATING Boating, Fishing
By Arthur Military Band AND Bathing, Tobogganing
Barry Shields SHOOTING GALLERY

Many New and Interesting
Concessions All Summer
EVERYBODY WELCOME

SPECIAL ATTRACTION—On the night of June 18, we have secured the famous 10-piece orchestra, Jessie Stone's Blue Serenaders of St. Joseph, Mo. Don't miss this big dance.

LATEST NEWS FROM NEW JERSEY

(By Worker Correspondent).

PERTH AMBOY, July 1.—Last Saturday evening the Workers (Communist) Party as usual held its open air meeting at Smith and Elm St. with George Powers as the speaker with a fair sized crowd of workers listening.

About 11 p. m. a policeman came along and told the speaker he was under "orders" to stop the meeting and that Powers must stop speaking immediately. The speaker stopped and went to the police station to find out why such "orders" were given. The lieutenant at the station house said he did not know a thing about it.

The following day the policeman woke up the people living above the Workers' Home, 308 Elm St. to find out the speakers' name.

The chief of police has granted a permit for an open air meeting for tomorrow at Smith and Elm St.

Threaten Teamsters With Injunction.

NEWARK, N. J., July 1.—Vice Chancellor Backes has issued the restraining order against locals 478 and 641 of the Teamsters and Local 825 of the Engineers to permit picetting of the strikers.

The order against the unions was issued June 16. The open shop bosses threatened the old bugaboo that the strike and the piceters was interfering with their business. Thus piceting and strikes must be outlawed by the court.

The court, however, issued a warning to the union that it must carry on a peaceful piceting and a peaceful strike. If not, it will continue the injunction against the strikers.

Fight Insurance Frame-Up.

JERSEY CITY, N. J., July 1.—Some weeks ago the Manufacturers Liability Co. an insurance company operated in New Jersey went bankrupt. Since then some of the stockholders have organized and are attempting to get back, at least, part of their investments in this defunct corporation.

Several weeks ago Senator Edward I. Edwards and Daniel T. Winters of the Empire Trust Co. N. Y. C. were appointed as receivers by Vice Chancellor Lewis of Jersey City. Yesterday Frederick Hopkins, in behalf of 40 per cent of the stockholders before the Vice Chancellor objected to the continuance of Dr. Winters as receiver.

Edward Maxon, state banking com-

Graft On Poor Relief.

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., July 1.—At the ninth annual convention of the New Jersey State Ass'n. of Overseers of the Poor in the Wiltshire Hotel the other Harry L. Bark of Hoboken made the startling statement that of the \$56,000,000 raised annually by the 290 community chests of the country less than \$7,000,000 actually went to dependents, the rest going for overhead expenses.

Will Mr. Edwards explain to the workers about his financial endeavors and schemes to pile up money thru bankruptcies?

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NEWARK, N. J., July 1.—The city of Newark has Mussolini in the form of Commissioner Chas. P. Gil-

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ENGDAHL BACK FROM EUROPE TELLS OF LABOR MOVEMENT ABROAD

"Every possible worker and farmer in America must be made to understand that an attack against the Union of Soviet Republics is an attack against the American working class."

This was the declaration of J. Louis Engdahl, editor of THE DAILY WORKER, who returned yesterday to New York on the Cunarder, Mauretania.

Engdahl pictured the condition of European countries, like Poland, Germany and Italy, especially the working masses of which suffer as the vassals of the American dollar in imperialism.

Thru Poland.

"I passed thru Poland," said Engdahl, "the Poland that is now begging a loan from Wall Street. Poland is a nation in rags, with great masses unemployed and a crop failure ahead. Communist sentiment is growing everywhere. This was clearly shown in the recent elections in Warsaw, when the names of the Communist candidates were stricken from the ballot. Nevertheless, scores of thousands of voters wrote in the names of the Communists. American dollars are being called on to keep the present oppressive government in power."

Engdahl also pointed out that in the Germany of the Dawes plan there are more than two millions of unemployed. Returning passengers on the Mauretania, who had visited in Italy, testified to the unbearable conditions under the fascist regime.

Benito Unpopular.

"Mussolini is very unpopular in Italy," is the statement made to me by many of these travelers," said Engdahl.

It is in the face of these conditions in Western Europe and the threat of the revolution in China that drives the great imperialists into the new attack planned against the Soviet Union.

Engdahl witnessed the tremendous demonstration in Moscow against the raid on Aron in London. Also the demonstrations against the assassination of Volkoff in Warsaw, Poland.

"These demonstrations held throughout the entire Soviet Union clearly show that the workers and peasants of the first workers' republic realize the struggle that faces them," said Engdahl. "It is time for the workers of America to realize, however, that this is a threat not only against the Soviet Union, but also against the working class in this country, that faces the slavery conditions to be found in Italy, Germany and Poland, and this oppression can maintain itself in Europe with the aid of American dollars."

Engdahl left the United States April 6th entrusted with the task of carrying the ashes of C. E. Rutherford, the fallen standard bearer of the Workers (Communist) Party, for burial in the Kremlin Wall, in Moscow.

"Of some of these I have already written about," said Engdahl. "I shall

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First Ave. and 10th St. Speakers: Ramnigla, Patterson, R. Mitchell, Powers, Tuesday, April 26th.

In May Day Celebration.

Engdahl participated in the Day demonstrations in Moscow and its environs. He was one of the American delegates at the sessions of the plenum of the executive committee of the Communist International, that took up the three big questions of the War Danger, the Chinese situation and the problems facing the Communist Party in Great Britain. Engdahl was a member of the British Commission of the plenum.

Later Engdahl participated in the hearings devoted to the discussion of the problems of our American party.

Studied Soviet Press.

Engdahl also seized the opportunity to acquaint himself with the various Soviet activities. He visited the great automobile plant in Moscow and other factories, addressing the convention of the Clothing Workers of the Soviet Union. He visited one of the mills in Moscow as well as the beautiful rest homes for workers scattered thru the Silver Forest along the Moscow River. He spent a day studying the methods of the Pravda, the central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and several days acquainting himself with the workings of the Gudok (Whistle) the daily publication of the Railroad Workers Union, with a circulation of 400,000, the most powerful publication of any trade union in the world. He spent some time at the Marx-Engels Institute and also acquainted himself with the objects of the Communist Academy, with its "Brain Institute," for the study of the mind.

Engdahl also got in touch with "Tass," the Russian Telegraph Agency, with "Rusphoto" the official picture service attached to the Society for the Development of Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union, thus providing for better connections for THE DAILY WORKER in these fields. He discussed the questions of women's work and the educational activities of the American Party with the respective departments of the Communist International. He was specially delegated by the American delegation to attend a conference on co-operation. He visited the headquarters of "Mopr," with which the International Labor Defense is affiliated, the Revolutionary Museum, one of the largest of the Red Army Barracks in Moscow, as well as a summer training camp, attended the celebration closing the year of the Lenin School, as well as other educational institutions in Moscow.

Party Units, Attention!

All notices of party affairs, meetings and other activities for publication in THE DAILY WORKER should be addressed to the Party News Editor, THE DAILY WORKER, 35 First St., New York.

Passaic Branch to Have Outing.

The Workers Party Branch of Passaic will run a bus ride Sunday, July 3rd to Horse-neck Bridge. It will start 7 p. m. from the Workers Home, 27 Dayton Ave. Tickets one dollar. For children 25 cents.

write of some of the other places visited as time permits.

At Voikoff Funeral.

Shortly before leaving Moscow Engdahl spoke at the Voikoff funeral in the Red Square as the representative of the Communist International.

Engdahl returned thru Warsaw over Poland, passing thru Germany and Belgium before reaching Paris, France. Here he spent three days awaiting passage on the Mauretania, sailing from Cherbourg, arriving in the United States twelve days out of Moscow.

While in Paris, Engdahl laid memorial wreaths on behalf of the American Communist Party on the grave of the victims of the Paris Commune in the Cemetery Pere Lachaise, and at the tomb of Jean Jaures, in the Pantheon. He also attended the session of the French Chamber of Deputies where immunity was denied Marcel Cachin, the Communist deputy, who was ordered sent to prison for anti-militarist activities. He also visited the offices of the powerful French Communist daily, L'Humanite, in Rue Montmartre, and the headquarters of the French Communist Party in Rue Lafayette. He was denied admission to the Sainte Prison where Semard, or the French Communist Party is being held.

Help the Plumbers' Helpers Build a Union!

I. L. D. Meeting Tuesday.

The Harlem Branch of the International Labor Defense will hold a meeting Tuesday evening at 81 East 110th St. The question of Sacco-Vanzetti will be discussed.

Soccer Game Tomorrow.

The Red Star Sporting Club Soccer Team will engage in a match against the New York Eagles tomorrow 11 a. m. at Thomas Jefferson High School Field, Livonia and Pennsylvania Aves., Brooklyn.

Anything in Photography

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U. S. C. H. Meeting Tuesday.

A very important general membership meeting of the United Council of Workingclass Housewives will be held Tuesday evening, 8 p. m. at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East Fourth St.

Plumbers' Helpers' Picnic.

The American Association of Plumbers' Helpers will play the Young Workers Sport Club of Passaic which has been endorsed by the United Textile Workers Local 1603, at the picnic of the plumbers' helpers on July 10, at Pleasant Bay Park.

Tickets for sale at the union office 136 East 24th St. They are 55 cents.

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Telephone: Rhinelander 5097.

Airy, Large

Hungarian Needle Trades Club Meet

Wednesday.

An important meeting of the Hungarian Needle Trades Club will be held Wednesday evening, 8 p. m. at 350 East 81st St. The speakers will be Ben Gold and Emil Kiss in Hungarian.

AMALGAMATED FOOD WORKERS
Bakers' Local No. 164
Meet 1st Saturday
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2485 Third Avenue,
Bronx, N. Y.
Ask for
Union Label Bread.

GENERAL UNION EMBLEM

THE DAILY WORKER

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Advertising rates on application.

Deflating Trade Union Capitalism in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

The boom period is over for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and while it is as yet too early for us to be able to estimate accurately the extent of the damage done to the theory and practice of "trade union capitalism" in the American labor movement as a whole, it is obvious that it has received a severe blow.

The Cleveland Brotherhood bank was "the daddy of them all." Organized in 1920 with a capital of \$1,000,000, it had at the end of 1925 deposits totalling \$26,414,496. It was the shining example to which the officialdom of other unions pointed to inspire their followers to come and do likewise.

In 1926 the Brotherhood, in addition to the parent Cleveland institution, had banks in Hammond, Ind., Nottingham, Ohio, Three Forks, Mont., Boston, Portland, Ore., Birmingham, Ala., Spokane, Wash., Philadelphia, Tacoma, Wash., Seattle, Wash.

"Labor investment" companies were organized as follows: Brotherhood Holding Company, Cleveland; Brotherhood Investment Company, Cleveland; Pacific Brotherhood Investment Company, Portland, Ore.; New York Empire Trust Company, Inc.; Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Securities Corporation, New York City; Southern Securities Corporation, Birmingham, another securities corporation in Philadelphia and the California Brotherhood Investment Corporation, San Francisco.

The total capital of the institutions was \$23,500,000. The total capital of the Brotherhood banks was approximately \$4,000,000.

The Brotherhood also bought and operated three mines in the Kanawha district of West Virginia and one in Kentucky. These enterprises were capitalized at \$3,000,000. The management refused to sign an agreement with the United Mine Workers and a long controversy ensued.

It will be seen that the total capital of the various concerns organized by the Brotherhood amounted in round figures to \$30,000,000—no mean figure even for wealthy America.

The retreat of the Brotherhood at its Cleveland convention from the policy of trade union capitalism represented by the liquidation of the union machinery by which it was operated, is therefore an event of major significance for the American labor movement.

The financial enterprises of the Brotherhood were disastrous failures for the most part—in spite of the huge sums of liquid capital at their disposal and the magnitude of their operations.

The failures occur—and this is of additional import—not in a period of depression, but in a period when the expansion of American finance and industry has astounded the world.

The theory of the officials who put over the gigantic frauds upon the Brotherhood membership was that the class struggle was non-existent and that by becoming capitalists members of the union could solve all social, economic and political questions for themselves. Said H. V. Boswell, vice president of one of the Brotherhood's New York enterprises:

"Instead of standing on a corner soapbox, screaming with rage because the capitalists own real estate, bank accounts and automobiles, the engineer has turned in and become a capitalist himself. Now it stands to reason, doesn't it, that such men won't start any movement to destroy property or ruin big business? Why, only last spring we bought a substantial interest in the Empire Trust Company of New York City. If you could have seen Schwab, Heckscher, and the locomotive engineers seated around the directors' table, you'd have recognized the whole scene as an entirely new turn in what used to be called a fight between capital and labor." (Emphasis ours.)

This does not sound quite so well in the light of recent developments. The "substantial interest" in the Empire Trust Company had to be peddled at a ruinous discount in order to bolster up shaking investments in Florida real estate and other unreliable commodities and, according to the latest reports, the delegates to the Cleveland convention, altho they did not "scream with rage" at the capitalists did some very plain and profane talking to the gang of fat-salaried officials who had cajoled them into the smelly mess.

There will be some heavy thinking done in the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor as a result of the Brotherhood's action. The union membership will view with a cold eye the many and varied schemes which are now in force and in preparation for ushering in the era of "trade union capitalism."

Coupled with the recent refusal of the Watson-Parker law mediation board to grant an increase to trainmen and conductors on 55 western railroads, and the open advocacy of the 10-hour day by B. and O. Willard, the arch-apostle of worker-employer cooperation, the Greens, Wolls, Lewises and others in official trade union circles certainly will curse "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" which American capitalism hurl at their uncovered heads just at the time when they are doing their level best to smash the Communists and the left wing whose spokesmen have been telling American workers for years that safety and strength lies in militant trade union organization and a mass political party of workers and farmers ever struggling on the basis of the class divisions in society for the seizure of and the exercise of power by the working class.

Trade union capitalism has been placed on the defensive and its advocates can now be exposed more effectively than ever before as enemies of the workers they are supposed to represent.

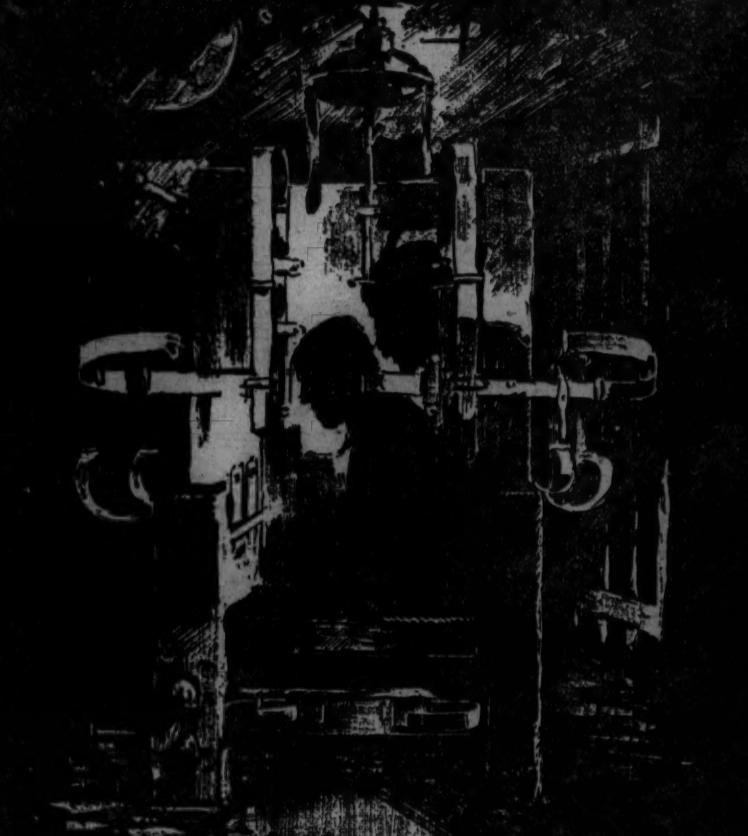
The Treachery of Feng Yu Siang.

The series of betrayals of the Chinese revolution by generals in command of the nationalist forces is indicative of the rapid development of the movement. Certain individuals thrown upon the stage of that great upheaval personify for the time being the clash of class interests. The characteristic feature of the revolu-

THE DAILY WORKER, NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1927

WHAT MADE THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY WILD

SACCO AND VANZETTI MUST NOT DIE!



INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

International Labor Defense Cartoon appearing in The DAILY WORKER and the book of Red Cartoons. This book was specifically cited as part of the evidence Against the DAILY WORKER Staff when the Federal Grand Jury indicted it this week. Sacco and Vanzetti have been transferred to Massachusetts State Prison to bear the death house. The campaign for their release must go on in spite of grand juries.

during the past few months, since the first victorious northern advance, has been the efforts of the big bourgeoisie of China to arrest the revolution at a stage most favorable for their goal—an alliance with the imperialists against the workers and peasants.

Playing directly into the hands of this counter-revolutionary element was the fact that the movement thus far has had to depend for experienced military leadership upon leaders who rose to prominence in feudal militaristic surroundings. So rapid was the development of the revolution that, although the workers and peasants organized powerful unions they were not able to build sufficiently powerful military forces to liberate them from dependence upon such vacillating and treacherous elements as the old military leaders.

The defection of Feng Yu-Siang to the camp of Chiang Kai-Shek, means a military bloc of the liberal bourgeoisie that has gone definitely over to the counter-revolution. Already Feng, formerly called the "christian general," has completely identified himself with Chiang in his bestial attacks against the unions of workers and peasants. Although still opposing the feudal militarist, Chang Tso-Lin, both these traitors are aiding the counter-revolution by striving to destroy the Hankow government. Objectively they are fighting the battle of the imperialists against the revolution and in a short time they will be identified organizationally with the imperialist plunderers of China.

The effect upon the Hankow government of the treachery of Feng is disastrous indeed and may, probably will, result in the destruction of that government, for the simple reason that its armed forces are weak in comparison with those of the new liberal bourgeois counter-revolutionary bloc. At the same time within the Kuomintang and the government itself are agents of Chiang and Feng, spies and semi-spies who are trying to throttle the workers' and peasants' revolution, who should be summarily exposed and mercilessly exterminated.

The betrayal of the revolution by Feng, following close upon the apostasy of Chiang and the denunciation of the Hankow unions by Teng Seng-shi, in direct command of the Hankow forces, which indicates that he is following the footsteps of his predecessors in infamy, clarifies immensely the struggle in China. There are three distinct groupings at present. The feudal militarist clique and the liberal bourgeoisie will merge in one reactionary group against the revolution. The third group is based upon the workers, the peasants and the small bourgeoisie.

In an article in the Moscow "Pravda" N. Bukharin indicates the line of the revolution from now on. The conflict is between the working class and the liberal bourgeoisie for hegemony of the bourgeois democratic revolution; or, which amounts to the same thing, the development of the workers' and peasants' revolution, taking at first the form of an agrarian upheaval. At the earliest possible moment the forces of the agrarian revolution must be set in motion and at the same time the labor movement must fight mercilessly against the traitors and agents of the renegades.

To compromise with either Feng or Chiang would be to abandon the revolution and liquidate it in favor of the imperialists bent upon the enslavement of the Chinese masses.

In the struggle the agents of capitalism will have to reveal themselves more and more as the open agents of the imperialists and as the executioners of the Chinese people. Unable to arrest the mighty forces set in motion by the revolution the liberal bourgeoisie sells out to the imperialists in the hope that they will be privileged to share in the exploitation of the millions of workers and peasants in pillaging China of its great natural resources.

As the new phase opens the Communists, as the vanguard of

the working class, will find means of arming a real revolutionary army, a people's army, that will develop its own officers and revolutionary military strategists and will initiate the "Jacobin" period, the most extreme revolutionary phase of the movement.

During the interim while the infamous combination of traitors is carrying on its outrages against the revolution, the imperialist forces in China will cease their open aggressiveness and will lie in wait for the opportunity to again resume their open warfare on the revolution, when their Chinese military lackeys face the armed workers and peasants.

Through the changing situations in China there is one demand that the American workers must keep incessantly to the front and that is that the Wall Street bandit government at Washington get its gun-men of imperialism out of China and keep them out, so that the Chinese may be free to complete their revolution.

The Massachusetts Hangmen Cannot Tire the Mass Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Sacco and Vanzetti have been taken to the penitentiary. This means that they have been taken to the death-cell.

The reprieve authorized by Governor Fuller has not served to prevent a tightening of the thumbscrews and a few more twists being given to the wheel of the rack.

In Dedham jail they were allowed a few frugal comforts and at least the electric chair was not in the same building in which they were confined.

Today they are treated as murderers whose fate is only a matter of time.

There is no mercy in Massachusetts officialdom. There is only a cold contempt for the millions of liberty-loving persons who know that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent and who demand that the state of Massachusetts release them or at least grant the new trial it obviously fears.

The executioners who have plotted for seven years to murder these two workingmen and to cover the crime with a shroud of legality are playing for time.

They hope to tire out the multitude which stands at the prison gates and demands freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti.

The reply must be that we never tire of defending those of our class who are endangered by the vicious conspiracy of our enemies.

On July 7, in the New York City demonstration for Sacco and Vanzetti, there can be and there will be shown, by masses of workers striking and demonstrating, to the Massachusetts hangmen, who in this instance speak and act for American imperialist reaction, as a whole, the solid and unshakable determination of thousands of workers to fight for Sacco and Vanzetti as long as may be necessary.

The July 7 demonstration in Union Square and a number of huge halls will be concrete evidence that our class understands the strategy of those in Massachusetts who lead the bloody conspiracy against two innocent workers and that there is no sign of weariness in the struggle to defeat it and liberate our comrades.

Sacco and Vanzetti must be freed!

READ THE DAILY WORKER EVERY DAY

N.E. CITIES NEED UNITED LABOR TICKET

By G. S.

For a Labor Ticket in 1927 Elections.

All over the country, and particularly in New England there is a concerted drive against the labor movement in the attempt to destroy the trade unions and to still further lower the standard of living of the workers. This drive has extended into practically every important industry in New England and is affecting the life of each and every worker.

The Sacco and Vanzetti Case.

Behind the gray walls of Dedham jail awaiting execution on August 10, are two innocent Italian workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, whose only crime was their activities on behalf of the workers of Massachusetts. There is a deep significance in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. These Italian workers represent a militant section of the labor movement in New England. Sacco and Vanzetti were selected by the manufacturers of New England to strike terror into the hearts of the militant foreign-born workers. The dark shadow of the electric chair is chosen to terrify the workers of New England and prevent them from militating.

Anti-Labor Legislation.

At no time has there been so many anti-labor bills introduced in the state legislatures as during the current month. The labor movement had a difficult struggle on the bills affecting workman compensation. Bills introduced by the Arkwright Club representing the cotton manufacturers of New England, proposed the increase of working hours for women from 48 to 54 hours. There were bills introduced and aimed against the legal existence of the Workers (Communist) Party. There were bills dealing with criminal syndicalism, as well as bills affecting the question of sympathetic strikes and the right to strike. A bill prohibiting the intermarriage of Negroes and whites sponsored by the Ku Klux Klan, was a clear attempt to divide the negro and white workers and to use the race prejudice in still further cutting down the standard of living. On all these bills the representatives of the union of the patriotic organizations and of the manufacturers clubs, were outspoken in their hatred for labor and the demand for total submission of the labor movement.

Cutting Down of Wages and Destruction of Unions.

The textile industry, which at the present time is of unstable condition and where the labor market is demoralized, due to the partial moving of the mills to the South, has suffered the most from this attack.

Conditions in New England are ripe for independent political action of the workers. The experiences of past years clearly indicates the class character of the existing political party. Labor must and will answer the increased attacks, by a more active participation in the political life of the country. This political campaign, coupled with the intensive drive of the organization of the unorganized, with the struggle for improvement in the standard of living, with the organization of the unemployed, demanding relief from their unbearable conditions, would tend to strengthen and steel the labor movement and will be the only weapon by means of which the labor movement of New England will be able to beat back the attack of the manufacturers and to prevent the total degradation of the labor movement in New England.

In every city there are a number of militant trade unionists and other prominent leaders of various labor organizations, who should form themselves immediately into a committee for the purpose of calling a labor conference to consider the question of a labor ticket.

Conditions in New England are ripe for independent political action of the workers. The experiences of past years clearly indicates the class character of the existing political party. Labor must and will answer the increased attacks, by a more active participation in the political life of the country. This political campaign, coupled with the intensive drive of the organization of the unorganized, with the struggle for improvement in the standard of living, with the organization of the unemployed, demanding relief from their unbearable conditions, would tend to strengthen and steel the labor movement and will be the only weapon by means of which the labor movement of New England will be able to beat back the attack of the manufacturers and to prevent the total degradation of the labor movement in New England.

Let's Fight On! Join The Workers Party!

In the loss of Comrade Ruthenberg the Workers (Communist) Party has lost its foremost leader and the American working class its staunchest fighter. This loss can only be overcome by many militant workers joining the Party that he built.

Fill out the application below and mail it. Become a member of the Workers (Communist) Party and carry forward the work of Comrade Ruthenberg.

I want to become a member of the Workers (Communist) Party.

Name

Address

Occupation

Union Affiliation

Mail this application to the Workers Party, 108 East 14th Street, New York City; or if in other city to Workers Party, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Distribute the Ruthenberg pamphlet, "The Workers' (Communist) Party. What It Stands For and Why Workers Should Join." This Ruthenberg pamphlet will be the basic pamphlet throughout the Ruthenberg Drive.

Every Party Nucleus must collect 50 cents from every member and will receive 20 pamphlets for every member to sell or distribute.

Nuclei in the New York District will get their pamphlets from the District office—108 East 14th St.

Nuclei outside of the New York District write to The DAILY WORKER Publishing Co., 33 East First Street, New York City, or to the National Office, Workers Party, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

THE NEW MAGAZINE

Section of The DAILY WORKER

SATURDAY, JULY 2nd, 1927.

This Magazine Section Appears Every Saturday in The DAILY WORKER.

ALEX BITTELMAN, Editor



The Day They Celebrate By T. J. O'Flaherty

ON July 4, 1776, there was published a document known as the Declaration of Independence, which served notice on the world and particularly on the British government that the thirteen American colonies would henceforth be known as the United States of America.

This document claimed among other rights that all governments derived their just powers from the people and that whenever a government ceases to serve the people it is supposed to represent, it is the duty of the people to put it out of business.

This healthy doctrine flourished for decades in the United States and the chin shrubbery of every patriotic American banker, of the days when hirsute adorner was a sign of respectability, would tremble with patriotic pride when a barrel-voiced Fourth of July orator pulled the stops on the revolutionary declaration that was taken as a signal of revolt wherever the heel of the oppressor dug into the face of a subject people.

But those days are gone by and a fervent admirer of the Declaration of Independence today had better watch his step if he wants to keep out of the clutches of the present day patriots who look on the revolutionary document as a skeleton in the political closet, in much the same light as a modern society lady would regard the indiscretions of a buccaneering ancestor.

Much water has flowed by the historical bridge since 1776 and the United States that was then fighting a revolutionary war against the British Empire and offering a haven of refuge to those fleeing from tyranny is today the most imperialistic country on earth with its flag flying over millions

of exploited slaves, this flag no longer the symbol of struggle against oppression but the banner of the predatory interests of Wall Street.

During the World War, in which the United States participated to protect the millions of Morgan and Company invested on the side of the allies, several workers were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for publishing excerpts from the declaration of independence.

In those hectic days when our monied aristocracy was engaged in a crusade to save the world from German militarism and make it safe for Wall Street investments, the ghosts of the authors of the Declaration of Independence were only invoked by the radicals. Not that the revolutionists were deluded into the belief that they were the inheritors of the fruits of the 1776 revolution or that the "fathers of this country" had the slightest regard for the interests of the exploited industrial and land workers of those days, but because the revolution struck a blow at the infant imperialism of Great Britain and pushed the hands of the clock of social evolution forward on the dial of time.

In the sense that the revolutionists of 1776 fought on the side of progress, they are the revolutionary ancestors of the revolutionists of today. The rising bourgeoisie of colonial days found themselves economically hog-tied by the legislative restrictions placed upon them by the British parliament. So they took steps to break the chains that bound them and they were not finicky as to methods.

Let those paid and voluntary patriots who rave today about the Communist contention that no ruling class in the history of the world relinquished its power without a physical struggle and that a

(Continued on Page Six)

The Fifth Party Conference of the C.P. of China

Political and Organizational Report of the Central Committee

THE first part of this report bears the heading "The Tactics of the Party in the Course of the Last Two Years." In this respect, Comrade Chen Tu Su distinguishes four periods.

1.—First Period: From the 4th Party Conference of the C.P. of China to the Rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling (in December, 1925). This stage is characterized by the rise of the Communist movement, which reached its highest point in the events of May 30th, 1925 (shootings in Shanghai). In the period in question, the proletariat was fighting for the hegemony in the revolutionary movement, a development which led to emphasizing class differences. We could then observe the beginnings of bourgeois deflection, the bourgeois ideology being interpreted in Tai Tsai Tao's book, "The Philosophical Foundations of Sunyatsenism." In southern China it still proved possible to maintain a united front with the bourgeoisie against the two militarist leaders, Li Chen Hui and Yang Shi Min, but the Hong Kong strike was already waged altogether under the slogan "The labor movement must be combined with the national movement, the dominating role of the proletariat in the latter being fully maintained."

In this first period the Communist Party of China committed no mistakes. It waged determined war against the tendencies voiced by Tai Tsai Tao and maintained the principle of a union with the left wing of the Kuomintang for the purpose of a common fight against the right wing. The same policy was observed at the Second Party Conference of the Kuomintang. The accentuation of opposition to British imperialism must be regarded as a step in the right direction on the part of the Communist Party.

2.—Second Period: From the rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling in December 1925 till the retreat of the National army from the heights of Hankow. This period is mainly remarkable for the recession in the revolutionary movement and the strengthening of the reaction. At the commencement of the second period, southern China saw the continuation of the fight against feudalism, which found expression in the murder at Canton on August 25th, 1925, of Lao Chun Kai, minister of finance to the Canton government (killed by the accomplices of the feudal lords) and in the fights which followed it. The struggle against the bourgeoisie also grew in vehemence during this period. The bourgeoisie was engaged in organizing its political parties.

In this period Chiang Kai-shek played the part of an "armed Tai Tsai Tao." The events of March 20th, 1926, were no mere coincidence. (We here refer to the armed demonstration organized by Chiang Kai-shek at the head of his troops against the government of which Wang Tsin Wei was at the head and against the workers' strike committee, a development which led to dismissal of Wang Tsin Wei, to the temporary weakening of the influence of the left Kuomintang members and the Communists in the Kuomintang and in the army, and to the strengthening of the reactionary elements in the province). Chiang Kai-shek rendered apparent the tendency of the bourgeoisie to secede from the revolution, this desire being mainly promoted by the increasingly obvious divergence of class interests among the various groups engaged in the National-Revolutionary movement. The Canton conference of the Kuomintang on May 5th, 1926, was wholly under the influence of Chiang Kai-shek.

With reference to the events of March 20th, there were at that time within the Communist Party considerable differences of opinion as to the advisability of an assault or a retreat. The retreat of the Communist Party was occasioned by a lack of forces and the omission of the Party to make adequate preparations. It must be admitted that considerable mistakes were allowed to occur at Canton.

At the close of the second period the differences in the camp of the militarists were aggravated, the Mukden clique opposing the clique of Chihli. At

(Continued on Page Two)



The Fifth Party Conference of the C.P. of China

(Continued from Page One)

the same time there were greater differences among the foreign imperialists, a fact which was reflected in the course of the Customs Conference.

3.—Third Period: From the commencement of the Northern Expedition till the occupation of Shanghai by the National troops. This section was characterized by a renewed rise of the revolutionary movement. It saw the development of the workers' movement and the establishment of a broad foundation for a movement among the peasantry. At the same time, the struggle against foreign imperialism increased (occupation of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang).

The session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at Peking in February 1926 sanctioned the project of an expedition to the north. Although there were subsequently some differences of opinion on various heads, one cannot speak of great mistakes having been committed during this period.

The expedition to the north was the result of collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At the close of the third period, however, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was aggravated, especially in connection with the attempts made by the bourgeoisie to exploit the military expedition solely for its own ends. This struggle led to the complete rupture, at Shanghai, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the latter revealing pronouncedly anti-revolutionary tendencies.

4.—Fourth Period: Since the coup of Chiang Kai-shek at Shanghai. This last section is altogether different from the preceding ones. The bourgeoisie has seceded from the revolutionary front. The true nature of the forces which had taken part in the national struggle has become apparent, and their attitude throughout the developments becomes increasingly obvious. The result is a consolidation of the united front of the proletariat, the peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie. The dangers lurking within the revolutionary movement itself have been greatly lessened.

The prospects for the near future figure as follows: Accentuation of class differentiation; growth of the forces of the proletariat, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie; and of the military resources of the revolution, the further development of which thus appears assured.

The second section of the report bears the title: "The Role of the Bourgeoisie in the Revolution." From a historical point of view, the defaction of the Chinese bourgeoisie is no new departure. In history, the bourgeoisie betrayed every revolution. The Chinese bourgeoisie is opposed to the militarists but favors a compromise with the foreign imperialists, from whom it hopes to receive rewards and favors. The Chinese bourgeoisie is not only opposed to the proletarian revolution, but is not even able to carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution. After taking part in the revolution for a short time, the Chinese bourgeoisie became counter-revolutionary. Chiang Kai-shek represents the left bourgeoisie, which turned pronouncedly counter-revolutionary after April 12th, 1927. The right wing of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the so-called "Compradores," it is hardly worth while to mention in this connection.

The third part of the report is entitled: "The Relation of the Proletariat to the Petty Bourgeoisie." The participation of the petty bourgeoisie in our revolution has been characterized throughout by vacillations. The proletariat must make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie for the sake of having its support. In this connection we have not been able properly to carry out the resolutions of the C. C. of the Chinese C. P. passed at the plenary session of July 1926. In the provinces many mistakes have been made in this regard. Our task now consists in drawing the petty bourgeoisie into the Kuomintang.

The fourth section of the report bears the title: "The Land Question." The main work in this question after the fourth Party Conference of the C. P. of China held in January 1925, consisted in organizing the peasantry and in the fight for the reduction of the rent of the land. This movement is now passing over to a higher stage and is being



converted into a fight for the land. The peasantry is making an elementary upheaval and wishes to solve the land question itself. The agrarian revolution is now already no longer a question of theory, but of practice. In the province of Hunan a struggle is proceeding for the equal distribution of the land; this fight is directed not only against the big landowners, but also against the small landowners and the big lessees. The struggle is proceeding in an elementary manner.

We have conducted an all too peaceful policy. The big landed estates must now be confiscated; at the same time concessions must be made to the small landowners who have to be reckoned with. At present the alliance with the small landowners is still necessary. We must not fall into ultra-left errors, but must pursue a middle course. Nevertheless, even for the confiscation of the large and middle landed estates, it is necessary to await the further development of the military actions. The only correct solution at the present moment is to deepen the revolution after it has first been spread.

The fifth section of the report bears the heading "The Hegemony of the Proletariat." This hegemony is becoming a fact. The strike committee at Canton had governmental authority and exercised great influence among the left members of the Kuomintang. It was, as a matter of fact, a parallel government. In the province of Hunan, the influence of



In the reeling shed of a silk filature at Shanghai. Note the steam and the small children who work standing up in the atmosphere of a foul Turkish bath for 12 hours or more per day.

the proletariat is likewise strong; the petty bourgeoisie and the left Kuomintang in this province are under the leadership of the proletariat. In northern China the Communist Party also plays the leading role in the revolutionary movement. At Shanghai the proletariat was often isolated, but since May 30th the fight has been waged under the auspices of the proletariat.

The proletariat does not yet aspire to full authority; it is not yet in possession of decisive power. Nor has the Communist Party as yet sufficient armed forces at its disposal to seize the reins of government. The treachery of Chiang Kai-shek means the defaction of 99 per cent of the big and middling bourgeoisie. Together with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat must create new forces.

The question of Shanghai is also a problem of the mutual relations of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The proletariat of Shanghai fought splendidly, but it must be borne in mind that the city is not only a centre of the proletariat but also a very important stronghold of the bourgeoisie. Even combined with the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Shanghai is insufficiently strong. The opinion prevails that Shanghai cannot become the basis of the national revolution. Indeed, it is said that it will only be possible to deal imperialism at Shanghai a decisive blow when the national revolution has taken firm footing all over China. This essentially mechanical theory of determinism is not devoid of certain elements of truth. Nevertheless, I consider this argument mistaken. At Shanghai there are even some

liberal bourgeois groups which are not yet wholly lost for the cause of revolution.

The sixth part of the report is entitled: "The Military Factor and the Social Basis of the Chinese Revolution." The military forms of the national movement did not originate in the revolutionary masses themselves. The armed force of the people is not yet organized. The present armed forces of the national government have developed out of the old militarist army and consist partly of peasants and partly of the mob. The commanders of these forces are descendants of the landlords class. Therefore the army is a doubtful force. For the revolutionary army it is essential that the proportion of riff-raff in the ranks and the proportion of landlord's sons among the commanders be materially reduced. The vacillations of the army have their social bases.

The seventh portion of the reports treats of "The Territorial Foundation and the Line of Progress of the Revolution." The general impression is that the revolution is now progressing in a northwestern direction and not towards the southeast, which is a stronghold of imperialism. This question deserves to be elucidated from all standpoints. It is not right that we should be asked to leave it altogether to the Kuomintang. Such a policy would be tantamount to tying ourselves to the apron-strings of the Kuomintang.

The eighth part of the report refers to "The Relations of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang." The Kuomintang is a revolutionary association, a revolutionary league of many classes. Therefore the proletarian party had likewise to enter it. At present the Kuomintang is a union of three classes, the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeoisie. This union will be strong as long as it is in a position to satisfy the requirements of the classes it represents, and the peasant class in particular, and provided that the bourgeoisie under Chiang Kai-shek does not succeed in subordinating it to its influence.

The ninth portion of the report is called "The Reorganization of the Army." This does not merely mean the reformation of the army or the introduction into it of new political factors. Political propaganda in the army alone is insufficient. The army must be brought nearer to the workers and especially to the peasantry. The proportionate number of members of the landowner class among its leaders must be diminished. Without a change in its social foundations there can be no reorganization of the army.

The tenth part of the report deals with "The Establishment of Revolutionary-Democratic Power." The regime of the national government is naturally no regime of militarists. But we are still far from a revolutionary-democratic order of things. This fact must be admitted even by the left members of the Kuomintang. We are faced with the task of starting to erect a really revolutionary-democratic authority as soon as the situation in regard to the national government has changed and the threat of foreign intervention and a militarist offensive has disappeared.

The national government can look back on an eventful history. At present it is the government of an alliance of the left Kuomintang and the proletarian party, some of the ministers in the cabinet being Communist proletarians. We may, however, not cherish the illusion that this government is already a realization of the principle of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This would be a mistake. And wherefore is the present government not yet a realization of that principle? Because it is not yet a government of the masses of workers and peasants but only a block government of their leaders. On the other hand, the present government must by no means be under-estimated, for it undoubtedly represents a step forward on the way to a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This stage must be exploited if we are to arrive at a government which is controlled by the masses, i.e., at the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers, the peasantry, and the petty-bourgeoisie.

The eleventh section of the report is called "The Financial and Economic Situation." Formerly we were little interested in the problems of financial and economic construction. We had not enough determination to take part in the government. In future we must occupy ourselves more with these matters. We must pay attention not only to questions of the mass movement, but also to financial and economic factors, if we desire to consolidate the foundations of the revolution.



Headquarters of the All China Labor Federation at Canton.



Headquarters of the Kwangtung Peasants' Union.

Are 'We' Getting Bribed by Prosperity?

By
E.B. Jacobson

"THE American workingclass is being bribed by prosperity!" This is a phrase that is being bandied about today with a dangerous disregard for truth. Even supposedly well-informed workers are deceived by its defeatist ideology. Intriguing as the phrase is, how long does it stand under the scrutiny of facts? Let us see!

In 1926, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the "current income of the American people" was over 89 billions of dollars. In 1921, the same bureau reports a national income of 62 billions. So the "American people" have made 27 billions more in 1926 than in 1921. "We" are getting richer—almost 33½ per cent richer!

Do All Share Alike?

But do we all share alike in this gain—in fact, do some of us share at all? Where, for instance, do the workers come in—the millions of semi-skilled and unskilled, the unorganized, the women, colored workers—even those within the American Federation of Labor? How much are they "bribed"?

The economic bureau reports that 44,600,000 people were "gainfully employed" in 1926. Dividing the 89 billion dollar income by the 44½ million employed, we find that if all shared proportionately



in the increase it would mean an average yearly income of approximately \$2,000.

How Many Get \$2,000?

How many workers get \$2,000 a year? Do the farm laborers? Do the cotton pickers, shoe workers, textile operators, steel workers, lumber jacks? Do the soft coal miners, the employees of packing houses, biscuit factories, knitting plants, laundries? Does the average worker get \$2,000?

According to the economic bureau, the earnings of the factory workers in the state of New York for 1926 averaged \$29 a week. This means \$1,500 a year if the full 52 weeks were worked, which would be a very exceptional case. And this applies only to New York State, which pays higher wages than Illinois, Ohio, Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, California, Massachusetts or Pennsylvania. The iron foundries, stock yards and coal mines of Illinois are estimated to pay a weekly average of only \$27. And the seasonal nature of this work, shut-downs and lay-offs cut into this wage disastrously.

"Prosperity" Down South.

In the South, the lowest level of annual income is reached, with a drop to \$1,089 in Texas; in Missouri to \$754 and in Georgia to the inhuman level of \$671. With the expanding industrialization of the South, competition with the North is bound to result in an even lower standard of living for northern workers.

Even now, however, the North feels the demoralizing effects of this, due to the influx of Negro workers. Their use in the coal fields and steel mills of Pennsylvania has lowered the wage average there to \$25.00, according to labor bureau statistics. In Massachusetts, the unorganized textile and shoe factories go below even this starvation pay, forcing their employees to put wives and children to work to eke out the men's average wage of \$23.00. Quite evidently it is none of these workers, either colored or white, who are being "bribed" by prosperity.

Are Women Workers Bribed?

And how about the women workers? Their conditions are even more deplorable than the men's; and worse than that, are a continual threat to the national standard of wages. In a pamphlet recently issued by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. department of labor, the following facts are pointed out: In the 14 states investigated, only one state, and that in a peak year, was found to pay wages as high as \$16. Even in that one state—Rhode Island—the average wage of all women investigated was only \$16.85 a week.

Medians in other states ranged from \$8.60 in Mississippi to \$14.95 in New Jersey, with the remaining eleven as follows: Ohio, \$13.80; Oklahoma, \$13.00; Georgia, \$12.95; Missouri, \$12.65; Kansas, \$11.95; Arkansas, \$11.05; Kentucky, \$10.75; South Carolina, \$9.50 and Alabama, \$8.80.

Since these figures represent capitalism's "bribery" of the great masses of unorganized, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, men and women—then capitalism can expect no returns for its "bribery" except bitter antagonism, wider spread discontent and more militant striving for the betterment of labor conditions. Such pittance wages in our basic industries, such debasing of the famous "American" standard of living does not breed class-collaboration; it makes the soil fertile for intensified class struggle. Can such an industrial situation turn the workers to the "right"? Surely it is a curious method prosperity has chosen to "bribe" the proletariat!

Nevertheless, the question must be answered—Is any section of the American labor movement "going to the right"? Capitalism is sufficiently class-conscious to understand the need for a rear-guard. It wants "peace" at home. Besides, certain industries such as the building and printing trades are not under the pressure of international competition as are, for instance, the coal, textile and steel industries.

It is in these more sheltered trades that we must look for "bribery." The building and printing trades now play a predominant role in the American Federation of Labor, and it is under their pressure, as well as pressure from the capitalists and the great pressure of capital invested in industry through la-

bor banks, etc. that the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is corrupted. Of the 23,000,000 industrial workers in the United States (over half of the entire population listed by the census as "gainfully employed"), the A. F. of L. has scarcely more than 2½ million organized in its ranks. Twenty million workers, the great bulk of the American workingclass, are completely unorganized and being forced to the left.

But let us even take those workers now organized in the A. F. of L. It is well known that the coal miners, particularly in the bituminous fields, have been anything but favored by prosperity, which factor accounts for the tremendous influence of the left wing in that industry. Today they are locked out in order to force a wage reduction upon them.

Neither can the organized needle workers, particularly in the East, despite slight wage increases be said to have benefitted by prosperity, as their actual working seasons have been so shortened that their average income today ranges from \$800 to \$1400 a year. Then we have the machinists, and the railroad employees within the A. F. of L. and outside, and here too prosperity talk becomes ridiculous. In addition there is the process of sectionalizing work that is constantly going on, and the efficiency schemes, etc. Indeed, the ranks of the so-called labor aristocracy are being rapidly narrowed down.

Under these circumstances to talk of bribery by prosperity, and of the labor movement moving to the right, means to have been doped by the bourgeois prosperity propaganda—a typical social-democratic reaction.

It is true that the dwindling ranks of the labor aristocracy in a few trades, can be said to "be bribed" and to be moving to the right. But the broad masses of the workingclass are being subjected to increasing, rather than decreasing exploitation. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy more and more tend to ignore these workers, and prove its acceptance of American imperialism's bribe by continuing to orientate itself on the surviving skilled mechanics. A be-paunched A. F. of L. leadership, is covered with the cloak of sanctity by erratic S. Pites—a united front between the labor-fakers and the petit-bourgeois—lawyers, merchants, bootleggers, and ham politicians. It is this motley crew that is rushing its forces to the right, though not by any means in unbroken ranks. It is the retreat of a minority, even inside the A. F. of L.; and its guilty confusion will serve to stimulate the rank and file of the labor movement to realization of the dangers confronting the labor movement, and to make them realize the need of following the left-wing leadership, and of drawing new strength into the unions by the organization of the millions outside the unions, for whom "prosperity" means only intensified exploitation.

To A Young Poet Worried About Aesthetes

My child, the next time that you,
Feeling the weight of the class struggle
New upon your shoulders,
Come face to face with some unimportant
aesthete
Taking his pleasure with his music, rhymes
and cocktails,
Don't bother us with such things.

We are not troubled by a bourgeois con-
science;
We're not afraid to enjoy music, books and
art
Whenever we have time.
And meanwhile we don't give a damn
Whether your aesthete friend
Knows anything about our strikes or not.

—N. S.

Poems and Themes

Dear N. S.,

I'm sorry if I bothered you with my juvenile dis-
covery. You may not believe me, but I had no in-
tention whatever of doing so.

As you very wisely point out in your second stanza I was bothering myself. That is, I was troubled by what you—a hardboiled "proletarian"—are pleased to call a bourgeois conscience.

That was a year ago. Since then I have attained proletarian serenity and remain untroubled by aesthetes discussing Stravinsky over cocktails.

You may very pertinently ask me why I published the poem. The reason is this: Even tho the mood expressed in the poem is the product of a troubled bourgeois conscience and is no longer true of me, it's a pretty good poem.

But perhaps you disagree with that.

Yours for the aesthetes,

HARRY FREEMAN.

EDITOR'S NOTE: If the internecine warfare between our favorite poets continues we shall be obliged to lay down certain rules governing the conditions under which the belligerent rhymers may be permitted to conduct their poetical polemics.

We consider it unfair in civilized warfare for a power well supplied with poison gas, mustard gas and laughing gas to use those lethal chemicals against a foe equipped only with low-powered fire crackers. We also consider it unmanly for Comrade Freeman to take advantage of his intimacy with the acting-editor of the New Magazine to hurl a deadly piece of prose at a defenseless hostile poet. Had Freeman's pros(e)atical retort been delivered by the mailman it might have never seen the light of day, but what can you do with a fellow who comes up to your desk with his concoction and while admiring his errors hands you something with which you agree?

A reformed poet to us is the sweetest thing that blows into our editorial sanctum and when you run into a poet who really admits that his poetry is worthy of publication, such a rare find should not be allowed to blush unseen.

Now boys, keep within the rules of free verse and don't sock below the eyes.

POLICE WERE PLACED IN
THE FOUR DISTRICTS TO
PROTECT AND KEEP ORDER
CHEAP PAPER CAPTION



Looking Forward

By THURBER LEWIS

SCIENCE! What a word to conjure with. It has come to have a sort of hallowed meaning like HOLY GHOST of old. What SCIENCE has done, will do, can do and may do is being awfully conjectured about in much the same way as the wonder workings of HIM were piously broadcast in the age of needle-dancing angels.

The gamut of miraculous power with which this new shibboleth is clothed runs from the complete blotting-out of the race to a mechanized paradise for billions of synthetic super-humans. It extends from the gushing imagination of H. G. Wells to the dark forebodings of a genuine thinker like Bertrand Russell. In between, you find thousands of Sunday supplement blurbers, "scientific" magazine hacks and news-gap stoppers hailing the day when you can fly to work in an air-lizzy and carry your lunch in a capsule.

But what they all forget because they don't know any better or choose to forget because they do know better is that science has not yet become divorced from society. Their efforts to make their haloed men of science into cloistered wizards working miracles with test-tubes, radio-activity and ductless glands quite uninfluenced by social conditions and historical processes harks back to the day of the ALMIGHTY who was likewise much too important to be touched by such inconsequential things.

But this making a religion of science may not be as silly as it sounds. Mightn't there be a sort of purpose behind it? The old time religion is going to the bow-wows. The immaculate conception is, as it were, failing before contraception; transubstantiation doesn't sit well on a stomach fed with calories and vitamins; nor can the voice of the lord hope to compete with the loud-speaker. The saw-dust trail gag is so much on the wane that a new kind of narcotic is plainly needed—and being supplied.

The Jesus shouters can no longer deliver the goods with the old pie-in-the-sky stuff. The slaves won't swallow it in large enough doses to make them forget or not to see that their condition of wages servitude is a far more pressing problem than the hereafter. Operative 1375 in the nut and bolt turning division of Fordson plant, Detroit, Michigan, ain't the man his dad used to be. He was far more absorbed in Lindbergh's hop than his grandfather ever was in the coming of the lord.

So they rearrange the sky for him and serve up a different kind of pie. He is made to see, instead of angels, white tunic'd, sharp-beaked, big-domed SCIENTISTS working out his salvation in laboratories. "It won't be long now!" they whisper. "The time is coming," "Have faith." Then they paint the picture.

Methuseleh will be a kid along side of you when you've only had your second pair of glands—you'll side-slip onto the factory landing field in your new helicopter, be whirled to your station on a speed conveyor, tend to your buttons and switches to get the plant going and glide home to your dinner of concentrated cubes consumed while you are watching what's happening, if you like, in Timbuctoo or Albany.

In the meantime, you are, of course, turning nuts and bolts for Mr. Ford, who is now starting his second billion.

In the other direction there are some otherwise level-headed thinkers of great cerebral repute like Prof. Haldane, who have already begun bleating about SCIENCE getting so far ahead of mere man that humanity is certain to commit hari-kari with the tremendous power that will be at its disposal. This is simply the reverse of the medal which on the other side shows a heavenly picture of radio-activated sweetness and monkey-glandular light. And rests on the same misconception of what real science is all about.

For all the tremendous advances in knowledge and scientific achievement showing on the credit side of the ledger in the last half century, wage slaves still lurch to the job on traction magnates' run down, nickel-snatching flat-wheelers; you still go hungry if you can't get a boss to do you the favor of letting him exploit you; when you go to war, you get murdered much more cunningly and in far greater numbers, but you still get murdered; your exploiters are able to enjoy their profits in a much more intensive and pleasurable way than they used to but they are still parasites; innovation follows innovation, discovery becomes commonplace but there is still as little anxiety to discover a way to eliminate the profit system as there ever was—in a word, the class-war is still on.

So that if a worker can withstand the barrage of dream inspiring, wonder-science sermonizing long enough to take a quick look about him he will discover that he is still very much of a wage slave and that science, like everything else, is the property of the capitalists. The URGE behind this feverish scramble of invention and discovery is primarily PROFIT. Some of the most remarkable scientific achievements, in themselves, of course, all to the good, have been made in the laboratories of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. and Westinghouse. The radio has already become a mint-like monopoly for a comparatively few profit-makers. Television awaits the same fate. The development of aviation means the development of a new source of income. Scientists are by no means gods or demi-gods.

They are part of the system. No fear of them getting too far ahead. They will be held in check if they show a disposition to get too cantankerous. Their genius will continue to be diverted into channels that will show new ways of making profits or create new machines for the subjection of revolutionary Chinese, Indians and WORKERS.

What solid scientific progress is being made under capitalism will not be lost to the world. Its accumulation of mechanical and chemical creations will be a much deserved bequest to an order in which science will not be hamstrung by social division and private gain. Let the scientific revivalists do their Billy Sunday act—and let the wage slaves remember that the class war has still to be fought out and won.



The Night

I
I have heard of so many who can shut out the cadence of trains and all the night's noises, and of so many others who are content to cloister themselves in a small room, unaffected by anything at all;

who can sit alone, altogether alone, most of the time, even when a June night experiences the singular beauty of emerging from its virginity.

II
I cannot understand how any man or woman can be always alone.

III
That one must be sterile, unimaginative, cannot have been an adolescent, nor passed adolescence.

IV
To sit alone tonight, to walk the streets as I have done this last hour, to be completely alone, —dear comrade—but it hurts—so much—so much—dear comrade—but it hurts.

V
You don't know, my dear, (I wish you could!) how it is to come to a city and move into a room, and then move out of that, after a few months, into another exactly as monotonous, cold—yes, and bare.

VI
I hate small rooms where one is quite strange, where you cannot come in and talk to me.

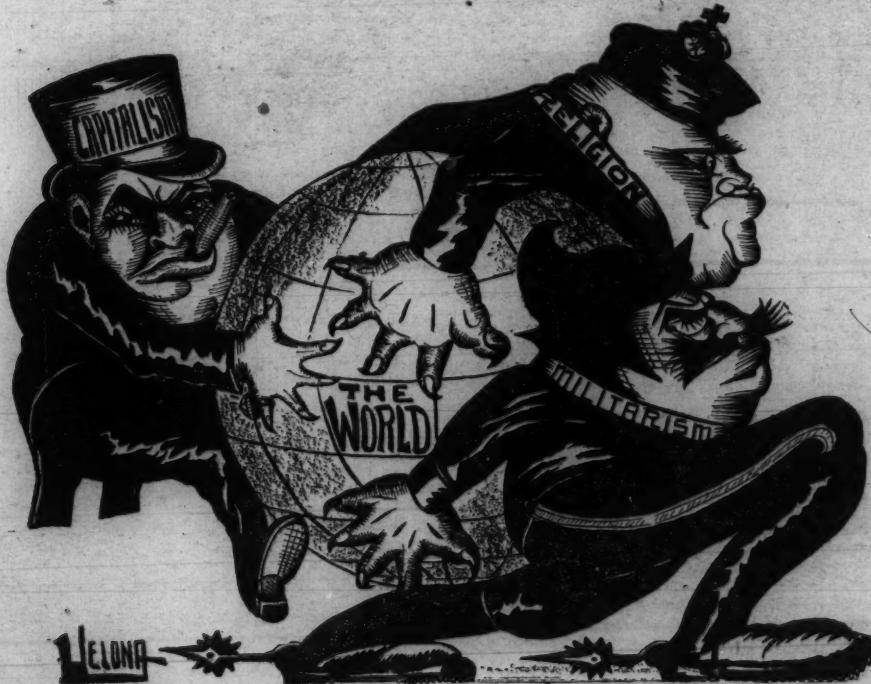
VII
When leaves sweep the air then, in a rush, an electric light is superfluous. . . . Turn off the light. . . . See?—I don't complain now. I am a social creature and dislike solitude.

VIII
I have heard of so many who can shut out the brushing of trees and all the night's noises.

IX
But I can't. These things should not be shut out and I must not be altogether deserted.

X
For the night is very sweet; but is also very painful without you.

—OSCAR RYAN.



Strangers' Songs



(Translated from the Russian of N. Verjbinsky
By VERA and VIOLET MITKOVSKY).

ONCE upon a time, in the hungry hard times of the civil war, in the offices of the educational committee of N——, in the vestibule, the corridors, on the stairs, appeared strange people, stoop-shouldered men with curly black beards, dark-skinned women in worn shawls, and everywhere, getting in one's way, were half-frozen children with distended stomachs.

It was a tribe of wandering gypsy entertainers which had followed the troops of Kolchak, and after the defeat of the whites, wandered to the Urals.

Here the gypsies were sent to a copper factory, but it soon became apparent that they had greater aptitude for stealing copper articles than for manufacturing them. From the factory they were sent to the salt-mines, but started such gambling there, that they were immediately transported to Lisva. In Lisva they set fire to something and every one of them got mixed up in some inexplicable, tangled business with the factory horses. In a week the workers of the neighboring factory begged the provincial government, by all that's holy, to rid them of neighbors who found such irresistible attraction in chicken coops.

The gypsies, fifty lively, agile and cunning people, were not a bit discouraged by these defeats on the labor front. Arriving at the provincial capital, they directly betook themselves to the offices of the executive committee. The president, an intelligent, straightforward man with a strain of humor, asked them at once,

"What can you do besides steal?"

"Sing," they answered.

"Then go to the Educational Committee; the music department will take care of you."

The gypsies did not understand, but went to the educational committee, not suspecting in the least what a cruel fate the president was leading them.

A concert, to acquaint the public with the gypsy choir was announced for Saturday night. This concert was organized by a committee especially assembled for the purpose, and called the "gypsy committee."

An unheard of number of people came to the concert. The Red Army soldiers standing at the door attempted to keep back some of the crowd, but they protested so vigorously and thrust so many papers with seals on them, into the faces of the soldiers, that they had to admit them.

In the first row sat members of the "gypsy committee." Hardly noticeable, expectant ironic smiles, foreboding no good, flitted across their faces. Behind the curtain, on which the scenic artist, confusing all epochs and styles, had painted a fiery horseman galloping across factory chimneys, was heard whisperings, coughing and the stamping of cold feet.

When the hall was filled, the curtain, creaking and trembling, crawled slowly upward and on the stage the spectators beheld a group of people in triumphant poses.

Behind, stood the men, black-bearded and grim, in crimson and purple shirts with gold braid and fringes and shiny buttons sewed on where needed and where not. Black and blue jackets were thrown carelessly across their shoulders.

In front, scattered in a bright wreath, were the women, boldly and gaily draped in shiny shawls of the brightest and most unexpected colors. The bright beads and bangles, skirts like wallpaper in a saloon, the glances and smiles, were something most far removed from the stern reality.

Two mustachioed guitarists, in drawers wide as the steppe and shiny high patent-leather boots stood at either side. Before the footlights, with his head raised high and his carved guitar lying lovingly along his arm, self-confident, with the eyes of an Indian fawn, stood mighty gypsy man. His glances wandered slowly over the audience; he smiled faintly, struck the strings with his brown fingers and a thick, organ-like stream of sound poured into the hall.

The choir sang and the lips of the singers, scarcely moving, pronounced each word tenderly and slowly.

"I...I...I...I...I...u...u...u...u...u...used to smoke
Ma...a...a...a...a...ho...o...o...o...rka

A...a...a...a...a...nd no...o...o...o...ow"

Pausing significantly for a second, the choir concluded clearly and decisively,

"I smoke tobacco."

And again floated out the slow, restless chorus without words:

"La la la la la lira la

La la la la la la la la

A...a...a...a...nd no...o...o...ow"

And again rapidly and distinctly:

"I smoke tobacco!"

The feminine voices blended and sparkled like crystal beads, the tenors shook their black curls and added silver to the trembling chords, the baritone

put his hands on his hips and took a deep breath, the bass loosened his collar and glared fiercely at the conductor.

"I...I...I...I...I...u...u...u...u...u...used
To lo...o...o...ve the gi...i...i...rls."

The choir warmed up, the women grasped their shawls more tightly, the men threw back their heads, the conductor unexpectedly turned his back on the choir and, fiercely twanging his guitar, added his bronze notes to the swelling music.

"A...a...a...nd no...o...o...ow," sang the choir almost in a frenzy.

"I love old hags," burst from the trembling choir.

"Curtain, curtain!" called someone angrily from the first row, and a member of the gypsy committee, Comrade Solodnikov, was seen standing on a chair with a twitching face and making signs to someone back of the stage.

The "gypsy committee" met immediately after the concert.

"Comrades," said Comrade Solodnikov in a hurt voice, "what sort of 'popular enlightenment' is this? Blood is flowing at the front and we carry on like this! I categorically disagree and definitely refuse!"

"That is a genre," timidly began Comrade Fraeburg. "I think that this genre shows unmistakable traces of the old order and definitely extinct means of production. It developed under conditions of over-production, in that dark epoch when the Russian bourgeoisie made holiday in its capitalistic streets. But now, being, to a certain extent, connected with art, I consider it my duty to declare that, in the present instance, if we are to discuss the object, we have to do with something—that is to say—in the sense of certain diverted musical talents we here encounter something superlatively common, which compels—that is—so to say—I am whole-heartedly of the same opinion as Comrade Solodnikov," Fraeburg ended unexpectedly and blushed scarlet.

"I too," said another member, "the proletariat must be educated in the classic spirit."

Yes, but what shall we do with these devils?" asked Comrade Solodnikov thoughtfully, "they've infected the whole province."

"Send them to the front, to the firing line," said Nakoriakov desperately.

"Perhaps they could—along theatrical lines," began Fraeburg and stopped abruptly.

It was decided to adjourn till the next day and invite some responsible comrades.

The president of the executive committee, hearing of the unsuccessful concert and fearing another visit from the gypsies, said to someone over the phone, half banteringly and half seriously:

"Well, what of it, if the words are unsuitable, the words could be changed to something revolutionary—but the music—such material—such music, if handled right, will make revolutions."

"Perhaps they could do the International, in their own way, with pep," said Comrade Nakoriakov. "The cathedral choir is getting too nasal and besides it's as dead as a funeral service."

After a short exchange of opinion, it was decided to appoint Comrade Fraeburg to make a detailed study of the repertoire of the gypsies, to develop anything in it that corresponded to the spirit of the proletarian revolution, to alter and adapt everything, and, when finished, to give them another trial.

The city was swept by blizzards and sunk in snow. Its inhabitants were occupied in searching for food and fuel and, without money, means of communication or skilled workers, carried on, in several departments, work which progressed like a light cart along a bumpy road.

A rumor was current that the authorities were attempting to "Bolshevize" the gypsies, that their chief was appointed head executioner and that he petitioned to be permitted to use an ax. Mothers frightened their children with mention of the gypsies and it was openly said that Comrade Fraeburg had

adopted the gypsy faith and was going to marry "one of those she-devils."

Comrade Fraeburg, with his emaciated, stumbling feet in broken old boots, his hands tucked into the short sleeves of his coat, bent, blue-nosed, walked about the town, from one to another of his numerous offices. When questioned about the gypsies, his face assumed a mysterious expression and he answered with some vague remark.

Every evening he went to the district club-house, locked himself into an isolated room with three tall gypsy men and for two hours afterwards, through the door came the intermittent sounds of a piano, someone's doleful humming and muffled conversation. The gypsies would come out hot and excited and talk angrily among themselves. In the cold empty corridors, their voices sounded like the cawing of crows who had lost their flock.

Sunday was decided upon as the day for the second trial. Comrade Fraeburg seemed worried and excited and was constantly disappearing. The hall was packed. When everyone was seated, the members of the gypsy committee began to act queerly. Some of them tore through the crowd and sent ushers on endless errands, others fussed about the stage and whispered to the stage hands. Behind the curtain all was quiet.

Soon the less patient of the crowd began to clap their hands and stamp their feet. There were shouts of:

"Time! Time to begin!"

Comrade Fraeburg suddenly jumped on to the stage and constantly adjusting his falling off pince-nez, made signs to someone. The audience hummed with impatience and annoyance. Comrade Fraeburg took a few uncertain steps forward and, holding his pince-nez in his hand said:

"Comrades, I deeply regret to announce that, due to solely objective causes, the concert, that is, the second trial of the gypsies, which was to have taken place tonight, is not going to take place tonight and may never take place."

The answer to this was a terrific roaring, whistling and over-turning of benches. The crowd rushed to the stage, indignantly demanding a more detailed explanation. Someone pulled down the curtain and revealed a dark empty stage with chairs scattered about in disorder. The gypsies were nowhere to be seen. Comrade Fraeburg escaped unscathed.

That night, the president of the executive committee related with much laughter how from the very dawn, families of the gypsies had been coming to him on their knees and imploring:

"We can no sing the stranger's songs. The spectated commissar not treat us right. Let us go, comrade, give us a paper to leave town, we'll never come back, we not sing stranger's song, let us go, for God's sake!"

Later in the day the whole noisy, shouting, disorderly tribe, bending under heavy bundles, was seen at the station, boarding a south-bound train. Some, not finding room in the train, walked away along the track, angrily looking back at the city over their shoulders.



Sacco and Vanzetti

Awake! Awake! O workers of the land!

Two noble lives within the balance lie.

Two workingmen—it could be you and I—

Within the shadow of the black chair stand.

They can be saved but by the stern command

Of labor. Quickly raise your battle cry

Of "Sacco and Vanzetti shall not die!"

And lift against this crime your mighty hand.

They suffered long behind the prison wall

For loyalty to class. They wait their death

For principle. Within your hands their fate

Now rests. O heed their brave, their final call,

While yet their hearts beat high and they have breath!

O workers! Strike before it is too late!

HENRY REICH, JR.

The Day They Celebrate

(Continued from Page One)

revolution unaccompanied by violence is not on record, hearken back to the Boston Tea Party and to the activities of the dignified smuggler John Hancock who was elected president of the Continental Congress in 1775 and the first governor of Massachusetts.

Hancock, whose name now graces the letterhead of a big insurance company was "the prince of contraband traders" according to Lala's "Encyclopedia of Political and Social Science" and with John Adams as his counsel, was appointed for trial before the admiralty court in Boston, at the exact hour of the shedding of blood in Lexington, in a suit for \$500,000 penalties alleged to have been incurred by him as a smuggler."

All honor to Hancock for his lack of scruples in dealing with the foreign tyrant, but there is a noticeable absence of eulogy of this side of his character in the patriotic effusions that tear the atmosphere on the national holiday.

Today, when every bawdy capitalist rag in the country uses columns of space exposing the Communist disregard for the niceties of capitalist constitutionalism, it is in place to point out and to prove to the American workingclass that the men who led the revolution that culminated in the expulsion of Great Britain from the colonies did not hesitate to use every available method to accomplish their purpose.

Smuggling today is considered an unpatriotic avocation in the United States, but to the men who established the bourgeois government known as the United States, smuggling was a highly patriotic business, in the days before British power was broken in the colonies. It was a revolutionary weapon.

This might serve as an object lesson to misguided workers who place counter-revolution against the Soviet government on the same ethical level as revolution against the former czarist government or against any capitalist government. The aim is what determines the character of action and not the method employed. The same rule applies to the methods employed by a workingclass government to defend itself against its enemies. The revolution-

ists of 1776 did not hesitate to make life miserable for their enemies and the historian, Beard, tells us of loyalists hanged without trial, others tarred and feathered, blacklisted and one fellow was given a preferred position on a cake of ice "until his loyalty to King George might cool."

According to Charles Stedman in his, "The History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War," we are told that Hancock cared little for legal forms but unhesitatingly used whatever methods seemed most feasible to him. A. M. Simons in his "Social Forces in American History," says, "When his (Hancock's) sloop, Liberty, was endeavoring to run the customs, he first tried to bribe the officials, and, this failing, locked up the guard in a cabin and unloaded the sloop under the protection of a gang of thugs secured for the occasion."

There is no intention here to cast the slightest reflection on Hancock's moral character. He was fighting for his own class interests and was justified in employing whatever methods seemed most suited to the purpose he had in view. But 151 years after the publication of the Declaration of Independence, the government which has the declaration as a preamble to its constitution, is busily engaged framing laws to strangle the development of the power of the workingclass and perfecting the necessary suppressive machinery to keep the workers in subjection, not even stopping at the contemplation of legalized murder, as in the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

One hundred and fifty-one years after the American colonists adopted their charter of liberty, which meant liberty only for the owing class minority of the population, this government is preparing a colossal program of imperialist development with its corollary: a gigantic naval and military program.

The world conflicts between the rival imperialist powers in manifesting itself alongside the sharpening of the struggle between the industrial workers and the exploited colonial and semi-colonial peoples on one hand and world imperialism on the other.

We see the USSR assailed on all sides by open foe and quondam friend in the imperialist world, and supported by the enlightened and progressive sections of the workingclass everywhere. The Soviet Union stands as a mighty bulwark of the oppressed and is the nucleus of the future world labor state. It is hated by the executive organs of the capitalist

powers but their greed for profits and their clashing interests prevent them from coming to an agreement to wage a united war against the Workers' Republic.

More than a century and a half since British power was broken in the American colonies we see the giant imperialism that rose from those disunited states again challenging the power of the British empire, this time not to throw off a foreign yoke but to contest for world commercial and political supremacy. In the coming struggle as in the revolutionary war, the workers will be the pawns. They will be asked to fight for "their" country, but in reality for the Morgans, Rockefellers and Mellons.

On this holiday, when the patriotic gas of bourgeois oratory will pollute the air with its poison, the workers of this country should pledge themselves to fight against imperialist wars, to oppose the imperialistic policies of Wall Street, to defend the Soviet Union against attack, to rally to the defense of the Chinese masses who are shedding their hearts' blood in defense of the right to be masters in their own land and to free themselves from the thrall of foreign exploiter and the native militarist, to organize politically thru a mass Labor Party in this country and to enroll the workers in trade unions, with an eye on the goal of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, that will write a new Declaration of Independence which will sound the death knell of exploitation at home and abroad.



The COMRADE

Edited by the Young
A Page for Workers'



Young SECTION

Pioneers of America
and Farmers' Children

Answers to Last Week's Puzzle

The answer to last week's puzzle No. 20 is: DECORATION DAY IS USED BY THE BOSSSES TO MAKE THE WORKERS AND THEIR CHILDREN PATRIOTIC TO THE BOSS AND THE GOVERNMENT. The following have answered correctly:

Elsie Melniker, Ferndale, N. Y.; Clara Ogulewicz, Paterson, N. J.; Mae Malyk, New York City; Mae Feurer, New York City; Hilda Wolf, Baltimore, Md.; Leah Scharf, New York City; Evaline Leven, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Peter Rimkus, Utica, N. Y.

More Answers to Puzzle No. 18

Solly Klein, Los Angeles, Cal.; Ulm Caminker, Los Angeles, Cal.

THIS WEEK'S PUZZLE NO. 21

This is an addition and subtraction puzzle. Try and solve it.

WORRY+E-RYE+K+HER-H= ?

Send your answers to the Daily Worker Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., New York City, stating your name, age, address and number of puzzle.

CAMP NEWS

Next week the Young Pioneer Camp will open. What a wonderful time is in store for the workers' children who are going there! They are going to swim in a wonderful lake. They will go hiking and climb mountains. There will be countless games to play, baseball, punchball, football, volleyball and many, many more. Do you want to be in on all this fun? If you do, tell your father that you want to go to the Young Pioneer Camp. The office is Room 41, 108 East 14th St., N. Y. C.

FREEDOM — THEN AND NOW

On July 4, 1776, a small group of men, including such famous fighters for liberty as Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams met at Independence Hall in Philadelphia and drew up a famous document. It was called the Declaration of Independence. This document declared that all men were created equal. It also said, "That whenever any form of government becomes destructive, it is the right of the people to alter or to ABOLISH it and to institute a new government." And these men of 1776 did not only talk of freedom, but, with the help of the workers and farmers, also fought for it until they drove their oppressors (the British bosses) from off the American soil.

One hundred and fifty-one years have passed. Many things have changed. The Thomas Jeffersons, the John Hancocks and the other fighters for liberty have died a long time ago. Trade and commerce that was just a baby in 1776 became a giant in 1927. And with this great change there was also created a great change among the American people. A small group of bosses, thru robbery and other means became the owners of almost everything. The big mass of people became the slaves of the bosses and owned nothing. And that is not all. The rich bosses controlled the government thru bribery and forced the American people into many wars such as the World War, where thousands of workers and poor farmers were killed and wounded. And this was done to make more money for the bosses.

In Central America, in a little country called Nicaragua, the workers and farmers revolted against the tyrants who oppressed them, just like the Americans did in 1776. What did the American government do? Why, they sent many battleships and soldiers to put down this revolt and to protect the property of the American bosses in that country. The same thing is now being done in China, where the people are fighting for freedom. This is what America has come to. If Thomas Jefferson were alive today he would say, "Now is the time to put the Declaration of Independence into effect, since our government no longer serves us, we must abolish it." What do you say?

YOUNG COMRADE

By MARY VAINAUSKAS.

Look out everyone! Here I come,
Hurrying, scurrying on the run,
I'm hurrying home to be on time
So I can get my Young Comrade.

2.

Always truthful, always sure,
Always having some new lure
And when some people read this rhyme
I hope they will send for the Young Comrade.

RUTHENBERG SUB BLANK

What have you done to spread the truth among workers' children? What have you done to show the workers' children that what the teacher says about workers is wrong? Do you know that the place to find the truth is in the Young Comrade, the newspaper for workers' children? If you do, subscribe and get subscribers for it. Fill out this blank and send it to Daily Worker, Young Comrade Corner, 33 First St., N. Y. C.

1-2 year sub 25c—1 year sub 50c.

Name

Address

City

State, Age

Issued Every Month.

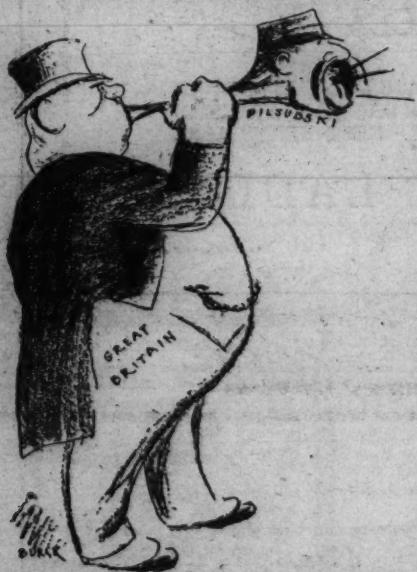
Read The Daily Worker Every Day



Despite police, gangsters and all the forces of reaction, the Furriers continue their valiant struggle.

Marco and V. Shall Sov. Det.

BURCK



The Mouthpiece of British Imperialism.

Cartoons OF THE WEEK



By JACOB BURCK



Black Jack Makes His Promise in Paris to Sacrifice More American Workers in the Next War.



The Capitalist Sea Serpent of the Mississippi Hood.

DRAMA

The Moscow Stage

II.

Outside of Meierhold, there is another important factor in the new theatre of Soviet Russia—Alexander Tairov. He too is a pioneer. Tairov once summed up his artistic credo in the following statement: "The Art Theatre tells the actor that he must forget that he is on the stage; and we tell him that he must remember it during every moment of his performance."

Based on this theory that the actor must first of all express himself, the Kamerne Theatre attaches extraordinary importance to the details of costuming, posturing, and gesticulation. It prides itself on the versatility of its actors, who can pass from classical tragedies, such as Oscar Wilde's "Salome" and Racine's "Phedre," to the lightest form of musical comedy with no apparent effort.

The Moscow Art Theatre is still the citadel of a classical drama in Russia; and it is doubtful whether any theatre can boast such a group of magnificent actors. Perhaps the most serious problem confronting the Art Theatre to-day is the difficulty of finding an adequate repertory. Chekhov and Dostoevsky are out of favor; the former because of the bourgeois wavering of his characters and the latter because of his mystical and religious tendencies. Except for occasional performances of "Uncle Vanya," these two authors have vanished from the Art Theatre programmes. The classical comedies of Gogol and Ostrovsky and Griboyedov's old-fashioned problem play, "The Grief That Comes from Thought," are faultlessly and brilliantly given, but do not by themselves constitute an adequate repertory. And young playwrights with works suitable for Art Theatre production have not appeared on the scene since the Revolution.

During the last season more than half the evenings at the Art Theatre were given over to the production of "Days of the Turbins," by Mikhail Bulgakov; and this play, together with "Lynbov Rarova," which was played constantly before crowded houses in the Maly Theatre, must be considered one of the two popular successes of the season. Both these plays take their plots from incidents in the Revolution but the authors treat their themes from decidedly different angles.

Tairov is also responsible for the mounting of two of Eugene O'Neill's plays at the Kamerne; "The Hairy Ape" and "Desire Under the Elms." The latter especially received high praise, not only for the author but for its director. The press was very enthusiastic. Sagorsky in "The Programme of the Academic Theatres," said that, "Desire Under the Elms" can be counted as one of the best and most interesting plays of the season; while another reviewer added, "the seriousness of this piece, the moving power of the problems treated by O'Neill, the clear dramatic form, and the great work of the Kamerne—all this was duly greeted by the audience."

The New Plays

TUESDAY

"PADLOCKS OF 1927," a revue by Ballard MacDonald, Anton Scibilia, Billy Rose, George D. Weist and Lee Howard, with Texas Guinan featured and Helen Shipman, Bobby Watson, Connie Almy, Jans and Whelan and Bert Hanlon in the cast, will open Tuesday night at the Shubert Theatre. Duo Art Corp. is the producer.

WEDNESDAY

"MADAME X," a drama by Alexandre Bisson, will be revived by Murray Phillips at the Earl Carroll Theatre Wednesday evening, with Carroll McComas in the title role. Others in the cast are Rex Cherryman, Charles Waldron, Reginald Goode, Mabel Montgomery, Wilfred Lucas, Douglas J. Wood, Betty Lawrence, Miriam Stewart, Gus Forbes, Ed. Russell, Arthur C. Ross, and Donald Campbell.

LYNN FONTANNE



Gives a brilliant performance in "The Second Man," S. N. Behrman's interesting play at the Guild Theatre.

On the Screen
"Streets of Sorrow"
Opens at Cameo Today

Another European film, titled "Streets of Sorrow," will have its first American showing at the Cameo Theatre today. The picture, which has been shown on the continent, and which has caused wide discussion, is a dramatic story of post-war Vienna, and will be presented by the Film Arts Guild.

In "Das Freudlose Gasse," George W. Pabst, the famous German director, has painted in uncompromising, black colors the actual conditions which existed in war stricken Vienna. Ably assisted by a large cast of renowned continental artists, he has taken this story by Hugo Bettauer and given it the intense significance the picture deserves.

The actual story revolves about two young girls both living in the same house on Melchior Gasse in Vienna and how the conditions affect each intimately. Through their young lives, caught in the confusion and frenzy of these horrible conditions, we see the lives of the other people on Melchior Gasse. The director has drawn the contrasts in a very vivid way and at the end we see the suffering people of Melchior Gasse rising in riots against the war-rich and driving them out of their haunts of vice.

The featured players are Greta Garbo, who has since become a famous American star, Asta Nielson, who was last seen in America as "Hamlet." Werner Kraus, the great German artist, of "Caligari," "Scherben," etc., adds another unique characterization to his large gallery of achievements, and Jaro Furth.

AMUSEMENTS

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

"The Second Man"

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway. Eves at 8:30. Matines THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30.

"The Silver Cord"

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 58th St., East of B'way. CIRCLE 5678
Matines THURSDAY & SATURDAY.

AND THEY ROSE IN REVOLT—

'STREETS of SORROW'

attacked the war-profilers of Vienna who thrust them into unbearable suffering
See this remarkable film-sensation of Europe with a great cast including

GRETÀ GARBO WERNER KRAUS
ASTA NIELSEN JARO FURTH

A Film Arts Guild Presentation

STARTS TODAY

B. S. MOSS' CAMEO 42nd STREET & B'WAY AMERICAN PREMIERE

LOW PRICES

ALL SEATS FOR THE LADDER ARE REDUCED FOR THE SUMMER. BEST SEATS \$2.20.

THE LADDER

CORT Theatre
48th St., E. of B'way

No Performances Saturday

First National's newest Milton Sills production, "Framed," will be shown at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre beginning Monday. The photodrama is adapted from George W. Sutton, Jr.'s "Dawn of My Tomorrow," and has its locale in the Brazilian diamond mines. The cast also includes Natalie Kingston, E. J. Radcliffe, Charles Gerard, Edward Peil, Burr McIntosh and John Miljan.

MUSIC

Stadium Concerts Begin Next Wednesday Night

The Stadium Concerts will begin their tenth season at the Lewisohn Stadium Wednesday evening and continue nightly for eight weeks. Willem Van Hoogstraten, who is leading the Philharmonic Orchestra at the stadium for the sixth consecutive year, will conduct the concerts of the first three weeks.

The opening program begins with a novelty—Elgar's transcription of an overture in D minor by Handel. The rest of Wednesday's program includes Debussy's "Fetes," the Prelude and Liebestod from "Tristan and Isolde" and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.

Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony will head Thursday's evening program. Strauss' "Don Juan," Debussy's "Afternoon of a Faun" and the Polovetziyan Dances from Borodine's "Prince Igor," are the other numbers.

Friday's program will include: A Dance Suite, arranged from compositions of Gretry by Felix Mottl; the Second Roumanian Rhapsody of Georges Enesco; "Tannhauser" Overture, and Brahms' Fourth Symphony.

Saturday: Cesar Franck's D minor Symphony; Mozart's "Eine Kleine Nachtmusik," Rimsky-Korsakoff's "Bumble Bee," Sibelius' "Valse Triste" and the Magic Fire Scene from "Die Walkure."



B. S. MOSS' COLUMBIA 44th St., W. of B'way.
B'WAY AT 53RD
BYWAY at 53rd
Continuous
EVENINGS at 8:30
MATINEES TUES.
NOON to
Midnite

WARNER BROS. PRESENT
"THE FIRST AUTO"
with Barney Oldfield
on the screen and
in person
and New Vitaphone

Little Theatre 44th St., W. of B'way. GRAND STREET
Evenings at 8:30. MATINEES TUES. AND THURSDAY, 2:30.
FOLLIES

"Aida" will be the first of the series of free open-air opera performances to be given at Starlight Park Stadium beginning July 7. The cast will include Alma Dumagen as Aida; Martha Melis, as Amneris; Salvatore Sciacchetti, Rhadames; Giuseppe Mauro, Amonasro; E. Palazzi, Ramfis; L. Dalle Molli as the King; Maud Webster as the Priestess and P. Calvini as the Messenger.

The Florentine Polyphonic Choir, directed by Sandro Benelli, will come here in the fall for a ten weeks' tour of the United States and Canada. The organization comprises sixty men and women. Its repertory includes both secular and religious music, from Palestrina to contemporary composers.

A. S. Woods expects to start his season early in August with "Mr. What's His Name," Seymour Hick's French farce, which is now playing in London. Lynn Overman and May Vokes will be in the cast.